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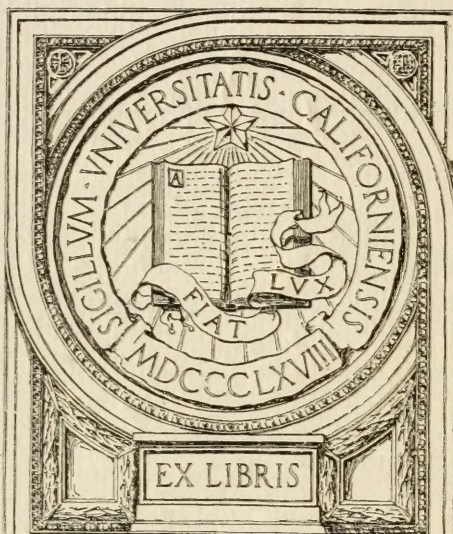


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A

RHETORICAL STUDY

OF THE

STYLE OF ANDOCIDES

A DISSERTATION

PRESENTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF
THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

SAMUEL SHIPMAN KINGSBURY



BALTIMORE
JOHN MURPHY COMPANY
1899

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A RHETORICAL STUDY OF THE STYLE OF ANDOCIDES.

INTRODUCTION.

(a). *Literature on the Style of Andocides.*

The only references to the style of Andocides which we find in antiquity apart from the *Vita Andocidis* are in (1) *Dionys. de Thuc.*, c. 51; (2) *Dionys. de Lys.*, c. 2; (3) *Quintil.*, 12, 10, 21; (4) *Philostr. Vit. Herod. Att.* II, 1, § 14; (5) *Hermog. in Rhet. Gr.* II, 416 (Spengel, R.).

Becker, in his "*Andokides übersetzt und erläutert*" (1832), p. 49 ff., gives an index of the literature on Andocides up to the date of publication. This volume contains a discussion of the authenticity of the fourth oration by Taylor, Ruhnken and Valckenaer, pp. 83-108; also "*Ueber die Echtheit der Rede des Andokides vom Frieden mit den Lakedämoniern*," by Becker, and "*Ueber das Historische in der Rede des Andokides vom Frieden mit Beziehung auf die Echtheit derselben*," by Krüger.

Sluiter, in the introduction to his "*Lectiones Andocidae*" (edited by C. Schiller, 1834), after citing the references to Andocides in antiquity, says, p. 5: "At equidem, quamvis Andocidi orationem non tribuam ratione et arte excultam et politam; subtilitatem tamen, impetum atque gravitatem illius sum admiratus. Arte Lysiae cedit; nervos plures habet et lacertos: vehemens inprimis in reprehendendo, in defendendo se gravis, ad misericordiam erga se movendam, odiumque in adversarios excitandum plane compositus, in proponendis, diiudicandisque argumentis subtilis et acutus, dictione purus et elegans, plenus Attici saporis; ut iure a Grammaticis in numerum sit relatus et inter decem collocatus principes."

Vater, "*Rerum Andocidearum Particula I*" (Berlin, 1840), is concerned with the life of Andocides.

Naber, S. A., "*Andocidis oratio de reditu*," *Mnem.* III (1854), pp. 66-90, attempts to prove the spuriousness of the second oration.

Linder, C. G., "*De rerum dispositione apud Ant. et And. oratores Atticos commentatio*" (Upsala, 1859), analyses at length the speeches of the two orators and discusses the various forms of *πρόθεσις* used.

Frenzel, "*De Andocidis de pace oratione*" (Königsberg, 1866), concludes thus, p. 28: "Denique Andocidis dictio ut in reliquis, ita in hac de pace oratione ad vitae quotidianae usum accommodatissima, dissipata, inculta simplex in universum erit dicenda, quoniam omnibus fere dicendi ornamentis, tropis figurisque anaphoris quas passim admisit exceptis caruit. Tota igitur de pace oratio quidquid proprium est Andocidis ita prae se ferre mihi quidem videtur, ut non possim non discedere ab eorum opinione, qui eam ab Andocide abiudicandam esse censent; vidimus enim utrobique adoptasse oratorem dicendi genus fluctuosum solutumque atque ex ipsa quotidianae popularisque sermocinationis licentia profectum quod a Graecis λέξις εἰρομένη vocatur."

Kirchner, "*De Andocidea quae fertur tertia oratione*" (Berlin, 1866), has a short chapter, pp. 42-46, on the diction of Andocides, from which I quote the following: "Andocides enim breviloquentiae ac brevitatis adeo non est studiosus, ut easdem res et sententias eisdem propemodum verbis expressas exiguo intervallo interiecto saepius repetat. . . . Singula autem vocabula quam saepe paucissimis versibus interpositis repetiverit declarare longum est. . . . Accedit autem quod ab omni ornatu dictionis abstinuit Andocides neque ullas fere figuras adhibuit praeter anaphoras quae et ipsae in verbositate aliqua consistunt. . . . Denique paene numquam concitatius fertur, ne ibi quidem, ubi de capitis periculo certat; nam interrogationes quas in utraque oratione permultas verbis suis admiscuit, vix ut unam pagellam possis perlegere quin in nonnullas incidas, ipsa hac frequentia habent aliquid languidi ac verbosi."

Francke, "*De Andocidis oratione quae est de pace*" (Hal. Sax., 1876), in defence of the authenticity of the third oration, has had

occasion to discuss some of the rhetorical figures of Andocides, such as antithesis, epanaphora, homoioteleuton and paronomasia. His purpose was to show the general similarity in the style of the three orations. His conclusion is: "Tamque similem esse puto usum et rhetoricum et grammaticum, ut si quis iam tertiam orationem Andocidi abiudicari velit eundem ne reliquas quidem illius oratoris esse iudicare necesse sit."

The same scholar makes a further defence of the third oration, but not on rhetorical grounds, in the Greifswald *Program* (1887-1888).

Eriksson, "*De syntaxi Andocidea quaestiones*" (Holm, 1877), takes up the use of the article, the cases, adjectives and pronouns, and, pp. 12-14, has a chapter "*De syntaxi congruentiae*." In this chapter is a short treatment of ellipsis and "allocutio."

Bohlmann, C., "*De attractionis usu . . . apud Hdt. Ant. Thuc. And. Lys.*" (Vratisl., 1882), devotes about a page to Andocides (p. 30 f.). He accounts for the cases of omitted attraction as follows: "Mira haec res ut explicetur, in memoriam nobis revocemus oportet, oratorem illum per longum temporis spatium non Athenis ipsis sed in Cypro insula vitam degisse et eam ob rem minus ἀπτικῶς scripsisse et locutum esse. In nulla vero alia Graecae linguae dialecto attractionis usum frequentiore et crebriorem esse quam apud Atticos . . . observatum est."

Rockel, "*De allocutionis usu, etc.*" (Königsberg, 1884), treats the subject with reference to Andocides on pp. 14-17.

What Lipsius has to say of the style of Andocides is to be found on pp. 14-15 of his edition of *And.*, 1888. He says in part: "Orationis genere Andocides usus est tali, quale in eo tum expectares qui non artem dicendi factitaret sed egregia indole praeditus et idonea institutione adiutus verba non faceret nisi in sua causa. . . . At mirum quantum ab Antiphontis elocutione distat Andocides, quamquam inter ultimam illius et huius primam orationem paucissimi intersunt anni. Ni mirum spreto grandiloquo illo et Gorgiae maxime artificii exornato genere Andocides dictionem praeoptavit simplicem et ad vitae usum magis accommodatam. . . . Ipsae quidem narrationes vigore et perspicuitate . . . excellunt. . . . nimia verborum copia orationem impedit magis quam illustrat. Eadem enim sententiae brevi intervallo redeunt

vix mutatae ut subinde delendo viri docti non tam librariorum quam oratoris vitio mederi conati sint: nec minorem in verbis iisdem repetendis praestat negligentiam. . . . accedit quod parentheses saepe interponit et anacoluthis structurisque κατὰ σύνεσιν quae dicuntur pluribus utitur quam ceterorum oratorum quisquam. Figuras eas maxime usurpavit, quibus maior vis orationi accedit inprimis interrogationes, quarum ne artificiosior quidem subiectionis forma deest (I, 148; III, 14). . . . In deligendis denique verbis propria quaeque et trita optat, raris et quaesitis abstinet; quod si tamen pauca quaedam poetica iniecit, ex tragicorum maxime sermone ea delibata esse consentaneum est."

Scarborough, W. S., in *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc. Proceedings* for July, 1889, has a few remarks upon the style of Andocides.

Morgan, in *Harv. Stud.* II (1891), has collected statistics for the following constructions in Andocides: (1) The infinitive with impersonal verbs; (2) The infinitive with μέλλω; (3) The moods in indirect discourse.

Dr. Gildersleeve, in the review of Hickie, *A. J. P.* VI (1885), 489, says: "The exceptional position of Andocides as a gentleman orator makes his diction and syntax of especial importance, and, while it is a hopeless task to attempt to put him in the place of Xenophon, close study of Andocides would be remunerative."

Christ, "*Griechische Litteraturgeschichte*" (Müller's *Handbuch* (1898), 7, 371), says: "Einen entwickelten Kunstcharacter zeigen die Reden des Andokides nicht; sie entbehren besonders der Kunst berechneter Oekonomie und leiden an ermüdender Weitschweifigkeit; am meisten Lob verdient die Frische und Anschaulichkeit der Erzählung."

Beside the works on Andocides mentioned above, I have consulted especially the full treatment of our author by Blass, in his "*Attische Beredsamkeit*"; Jebb, in his "*Attic Orators from Antiphon to Isaeus*"; Perrot, "*L'Éloquence à Athènes*"; Croiset, "*Histoire de la Littérature Grecque*."

In the treatment of rhetorical figures I am indebted to Straub, "*De tropis et figuris, etc.*"; Rehdantz, *Indices*; Volkmann's *Rhetorik*; Robertson's "*Gorgianic Figures in Early Greek Prose*"; Kirk, "*Demosthenic Style in the Private Orations*"; Benseler, "*De Hiatu in Oratoribus Atticis*."

The most recent editions of Andocides are those of Blass (*Ors.* 1-4, text 1880), Hickie (*Or.* 1, 1885), Lipsius (*Ors.* 1-4, text 1887), and Marchant (*Ors.* 1-2, 1889). The new *Index of Andocides* by Forman (1897) is a valuable addition to the literature of Andocides.

(b). *Works of Andocides.*

Of the four orations which have come down to us under the name of Andocides the consensus of opinion among scholars of the present day gives the first three to Andocides himself and the fourth to some later sophist possibly of the fourth century B. C. For the other speeches attributed to him, of which only fragments remain, cf. Blass, *Att. Bered.*, under Andocides.

CHAPTER I.

The man and his environment.

The works of Andocides, the "gentleman orator," possess for us a peculiar interest which is only augmented by the fact that he was so generally neglected by the Rhetoricians, and that more recent scholars have for the most part brought him to the light merely to show his weak points or to renew the discussion as to the spuriousness of one or more of the orations attributed to him. This, in my opinion, overlooks the most important interest connected with his writings. Jebb well says that "each of the other orators represents some theory more or less definite, of eloquence as an art, and is distinguished, not merely by a faculty, but by certain technical merits, the result of labor directed to certain points in accordance with that theory. Among these experts Andocides is an amateur." It is just here that the interest lies. All oratory is more or less influenced by the sphere in which it moves, and is hence to some degree formal. For this reason the orators who were trained in the schools and became expert depart farthest from the spoken language of the time. So that if it is possible to observe the language of conversation anywhere outside of the dialog and comic poetry we may expect to find it in an orator who speaks without rhetorical training, provided that he is not so overawed by the position into which he is thrust as to speak unnatur-

ally. It is just this state of affairs that we find in the first oration of Andocides. Confident of success, he speaks with ease. In his earlier oration he is somewhat constrained, and in the third he has assumed a little of the formality of deliberative oratory. But before coming to an examination of the style of our author in detail, it will be well to study some of the elements of his character that are visible in his writings, for if in any case "le style est de l'homme même," it certainly ought to be true of an author so naïve as Andocides. Especially shall we look for indications of his traits of character and disposition at a time when he appears natural and at his ease. This we find to be the case, and his prominent characteristics are more often to be seen in his oration *περὶ τῶν μυστηρίων* than elsewhere.

Undoubtedly his most obvious trait of character is his pride. It is the pride of an Athenian aristocrat of the old school. He has the old aristocratic contempt for the manufacturing class, which comes out in bold relief in Or. 1, 146, where he says that it is a disgrace to the city that the ancient house of Andocides and Leogoras should be occupied by Cleophon the lyremaker. This old home-
stead of the family, to which he often refers with pride, seems to have been one of considerable pretensions.¹ In speaking of it he always employs the pompous position of the attributive adjective (cf. 1, 48. 62. 146). It is *τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν*.

He was proud of his wealth,² of his influence with foreign potentates,³ and of the ability which he had shown in regaining the fortune lost in his youth.⁴ It is interesting to note on the one hand the utter contempt he has for the man who made his living by the manufacture of lyres,⁵ and on the other the pride he takes in the fact that after coming into poverty and want, on account of the misfortunes of the city, he had reimbursed himself, *τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ ταῖν χερσίν ταῖν ἐμαντοῦ*. But the chief source of his pride is his ancestry, of which he boasts upon the slightest provocation.⁶ The oft-recurring *ὁ ἡμέτερος πάππος* reminds one strongly of Hubert in Scott's *Ivanhoe*, whose "grandsire drew a good bow at Hastings." The characteristic pride and conceit apparent in his

¹ Cf. 1, 48. 62. 146. 147.

² Cf. 1, 4. 132. 137.

³ Cf. 1, 145.

⁴ Cf. 1, 144.

⁵ Cf. 1, 146.

⁶ Cf. 1, 106. 117. 141. 143. 146. 2, 26(*bis*). 3, 6. 29.

early speech becomes strongly accentuated in his later defence (*cf.* 1, 67. 119) as is shown by the uniform scorn with which he always refers to his prosecutors,¹ and the patronizing tone (*cf.* 2, 19) assumed toward the State in offering to make foreign kings and princes friendly to Athens.² We can see in Or. 1 the cosmopolitan spirit which was developed by his long life abroad as evidenced in his desire to have his reputation established not merely at Athens, but throughout Greece.³ In Or. 3 we see the decided leaning toward Sparta which was always characteristic of the aristocratic party of Athens. His public admission of the superiority of the Laedaemonians must have been galling to an Athenian audience, even in this period of their history.⁴ In order to make his self-praise the more effective he sometimes puts it into the mouth of his enemies. One very marked case of this is in 1, 135.⁵ It is evident from his orations that he had received very little if any rhetorical training. He manifests the prolixity and negligence of a man untrained in public speaking.⁶ Now the narrative of the orator is distinguished from that of the historian in that the latter attempts to narrate the whole matter as it occurred, while the former tells only so much as will carry conviction on the point at issue, and does not go into needless details. From this point of view the narrative of Andocides is eminently that of the historian rather than that of the orator. Another prominent trait of our author's character is his native wit, of which many examples might be cited. It is to be observed especially in the keenness with which he sees and urges a point against his opponents (*cf.* 1, 100. 113. 119. 139). In his fondness for retailing scandal (*cf.* 1, 124 f. 130 f.) he has been compared to Aeschines, but most of his stories lack the essential coarseness of his great successor, as for the most part they lack his bitterness. Andocides must have been somewhat pompous in his delivery, although his oratory was not of the austere type of Antiphon's and Thucydides'. Indications

¹ *Cf.* 1, 33. 71. 92. 94. 124. 133.

² *Cf.* 1, 145. 136. 144. 150. 2, 1. 8. 18. 26.

³ *Cf.* 1, 33. 56. 130.

⁴ *Cf.* 3, 17. 19. 21. 25. 26.

⁵ *Cf.* also 1, 4. 101.

⁶ Francke, p. 28, cites the following sections as containing instances of the negligence of Andocides. 1, 5. 8. 26. 38. 41. 56(*bis*). 58(*bis*). 59. 71. 75(*bis*). 99. 107. 127. 134. 2, 8. 10. 24. 3, 2. 4. 7. 13. 18. 19. 23. 31. 32. 37. 38.

of this are seen in the large use which he made of the second attributive position of the adjective and his employment of circumlocutions. His deliberation in speaking is also seen in his habit of summarizing a thought by means of a pronoun and then analysing it. *τόδε* is thus used in 1, 7. *τοιαύτη* 1, 54. *τοῦτο* 1, 9. 20. 23. 56. 57. 99. 102. 133. 137. 2, 5(*bis*). *τάδε* 1, 9. *ταῦτα* 1, 22. 60. 108. 3, 33. He has the power of dramatic presentation, sometimes termed diatyposis, of which several instances are at hand (*cf.* 1, 38 f. 41. 43 ff. 48 ff. 61. 101. 112). His self-confidence appears in his frequent use of the challenge (*cf.* 1, 11. 23. 26. 32. 35. 55. 70. 3, 24. 40(*bis*)). Yet he sometimes, as in 1, 33, requires the approval of his hearers that he may have courage to proceed more zealously. It is interesting to note the almost entire absence of oaths in his language, especially when compared with Aeschines, who uses them in abundance and with great variety. He must have had good hard common sense, as may be seen from his success in business and from the practical advice he gave to his fellow-citizens when urging them to make peace with Sparta. Finally, his whole delivery is characterized by a straightforward simplicity which seems devoid of all guile and is sure to carry conviction that he is stating the truth.

Having viewed the character of our author, it is important that we should consider his environment, to see which of the tendencies of that exciting time would be most likely to influence such a man as he appears to have been. Born as he was nine years before the opening of the Peloponnesian War, at the height of Athenian power, he came upon the scene of action just about the time that the Sophistic school of rhetoric was beginning to show its influence upon Attic prose. At this time Aristophanes, with the fertile resources of his ready wit, was protesting most vigorously against this and other innovations. Sophocles was still composing tragedies, as was Euripides. The prose of this period is represented by Thucydides and Antiphon of the austere type, of which "the leading characteristic is dignity, always on its guard against sliding into the levity of a conversational style." As a boy, Andocides might have listened to some of the later orations of Pericles, and it is quite possible that he was present when Gorgias, at the head of the delegation from the Leontines in 427 B. C., so astonished

the Athenians by his novel style of oratory. Two other facts must be borne in mind (1) that a large part of the literary education of the Athenian youth of his time consisted in a study of the old poets and an attendance upon the presentation of the drama, and (2) that in a democratic state like that of Athens some form of oratory must have made its appearance very early. Such then were some of the external influences which might have affected the style of our author. He was an aristocrat, and therefore by nature conservative. For this reason he would not have been so readily influenced as those in a different position by that which was new in the literary style of his day. Yet some of high rank, as Antiphon and Thucydides, were influenced by the new movement. They were, however, of a more literary bent than our author. From what he tells us of himself we should hardly expect him to give much time to the acquirement of the technical details of rhetorical composition. Then, too, his roving life must be taken into consideration. A comparison between Andocides and his predecessors will best be made by characterizing them briefly. The distinctive element in the style of Gorgias is said to be "its poetical character, which depended on two things—the use of poetical words, and the use of symmetry or assonance between clauses in such a way as to give a strongly marked prose-rhythm and to produce, as far as possible, the metres of verse." Jebb, p. 126, Intro.

On the austere style of Antiphon and Thucydides, I note the characterization by Dionysius (Jebb's translation). "It wishes its separate words to be planted firmly and to have strong positions, so that each word may be seen conspicuously; it wishes its several clauses to be well divided from each other by sensible pauses. It is willing to admit frequently rough and direct clashing of sounds, meeting like the bases of stones in loose wall work, which have not been squared or smoothed to fit each other but which show a certain negligence and absence of forethought. It loves, as a rule, to prolong itself by large words of portly breadth. Compression by short syllables is a thing which it shuns when not absolutely driven to it. As regards separate words, these are the objects of its pursuit and craving. In whole clauses it shows these tendencies no less strongly; especially it chooses the most dignified and majestic rhythms. It does not wish the clauses to be like each other in

length of structure or enslaved to a severe syntax, but noble, simple, free. It wishes them to bear the stamp of nature rather than that of art, and to stir feeling rather than reflect character. It does not usually aim at composing periods as a compact framework for its thought; but if it should ever drift undesignedly into the periodic style, it desires to set on this the mark of spontaneity and plainness. It does not employ, in order to round a sentence, supplementary words which do not help the sense; it does not care that the march of its phrases should have stage glitter or an artificial smoothness; nor that the clauses should be separately adapted to the length of the speaker's breath. . . . It is fanciful in imagery, sparing of copulas, anything but florid; it is haughty, straightforward, disdainful of prettiness, with its antique air and its negligence for its beauty."¹

That Andocides was only slightly if at all influenced by Gorgias seems quite apparent. The essentially balanced structure so characteristic of the Sicilian is absent from the phraseology of Andocides. Neither is his the gravity of his predecessors Antiphon and Thucydides. If, on the other hand, we attempt to compare his style with the studied simplicity of Lysias, here again the comparison fails, and we are led to seek the elements of a style so unique. They appear to be principally two. *His style is the blending of a conversational diction with a reminiscence of tragic poetry.* Further, it is possible to observe a decrease of the latter element with the growth of the orator. Even at first his employment of the elements of poetic diction is not that of the *quondam* actor Aeschines, nor yet that of one who has a strong literary bent, but rather that which a gentleman of culture might acquire from being a frequent and interested listener at the performance of those great dramas whose plots went back to the past in which he so delighted to revel. Nor is it strange, in consideration of the roving life which he led,² that this early literary influence should be somewhat less marked in his later works, though even here he still retains elements of poetic diction and several times rises to a considerable height in dramatic portraiture.

¹ So Jebb translates τὸν πίνον ἔχουσα κάλλος.

² Cf. Rutherford, *New Phryn.*, 109, where the author accounts for the faults of Xenophon's style by the "want of astringents in his early mental training and the unsettled and migratory habits which he indulged in his manhood."

One difficulty meets us at the outset, and that is the fact that the lofty diction of tragic passion often has elements of coincidence with the more humble sphere of conversational language. For this reason we shall find that some of the elements of Andocides' style are common to both tragedy and conversational diction, while some are more distinctively characteristic of one or the other rather than of both.

CHAPTER II.

Method.

In seeking to ascertain the elements of his style from a rhetorical point of view, two questions have been taken into consideration: (1) his vocabulary, and (2) his employment of tropes and figures. In the treatment of his vocabulary his diction will be compared with that of Aristophanes, who best seems to preserve for us the words used in conversation. When, however, we come to examine his use of tropes and figures it does not seem well to draw a comparison between Andocides and Aristophanes nor yet between our author and Plato, for although the comic poet and the philosopher have given us in great measure our idea of the dialog of ancient Athens, yet there is also in their work the hand of the skilful artist. It seemed a better plan, therefore, to make an examination of what use of tropes and figures was to be found in the nearest approach to inartistic prose that has been handed down to us from the ancient Greeks. This is to be found in the old proverbs and fables. And if it be objected that the "Fables of Aesop" as we have them to-day are probably a mere prose translation of Babrius, yet Babrius himself seems to attempt an approach to conversational diction in employing the metre most nearly allied to prose usage, and there seems to have been very little art expended in the translation.

After having sought to show some of the elements of our author's style, a short comparison will be drawn between him and Aeschines, in whom many have seen a striking resemblance.

Finally, an examination will be made of the authenticity of the fourth oration, sometimes attributed to Andocides.

We turn first, therefore, to the consideration of the vocabulary of Andocides.

CHAPTER III.

His Vocabulary.

An author's choice of words was recognized by the ancients as an important element in the determination of his style, as may be seen from the quotation of Theophrastus' opinion in *Dionys. de Isoc. iud.*, c. 3: καθόλου δὲ τριῶν ὄντων, ὥς φησι Θεόφραστος, ἐξ ὧν γίνεται τὸ μέγα καὶ σεμνὸν καὶ περιττὸν ἐν λέξει, τῆς τ' ἐκλογῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων, καὶ τῆς ἐκ τούτων ἁρμονίας καὶ τῶν περιλαμβανόντων αὐτὰ σχημάτων. Cf., also, the statement of *Dionys. de Thuc.*, c. 22. It will, therefore, be interesting to examine from what sphere our author draws his vocabulary, having already been assured by Dionys. that the diction of Andocides is pure Attic (cf. *de Lys.*, c. 2). As the words of ordinary conversation are probably preserved for us in comic poetry better than elsewhere, it is worthy of note that about 84 per cent. of the words employed by Andocides are to be found in Aristophanes. Of those remaining about 1 per cent. (of the whole) may be classified as legal terms and about 4 per cent. as technical, such as Aristophanes himself would doubtless have employed if he had had occasion to do so. In this class are included some numerals, terms expressing relationship, names of state offices, etc. About 2 per cent. may be classified as abstracts, if we may venture to employ a classification which the Greeks themselves did not recognize. Such words I mean as ἄδεια, ἀνανδρία, πιστότης, κτλ. About 5 per cent. are verbs compounded with prepositions, frequently double. This tendency to use long prepositional compounds may be observed in Aeschines, and is especially characteristic of tragic poetry. It seems to lend a certain grandness to the style. Of the remaining words not found in Aristophanes many are not adapted to the ordinary metre of comic poetry.

There are, however, some words used by Andocides which must have been less familiar in the ordinary conversation of his day or even in the language of the other orators. Such a word is ἀνωρθίαζον 1, 29, which is not found elsewhere in classical prose. Cf. *Aeschyl. Choeph.* 271, κάξορθιάζων πολλά.

ἀναυμαχίου 1, 74, does not occur elsewhere in classical writers. Cf. ἀναυμάχητον, *Lys. fr.* 71, and ἄναυς, *Aeschyl. Pers.* 666.

ἀπεκερδαίνομεν 1, 134, occurs elsewhere only in *Eur. Cycl.* 432, in classical authors.

ἀρασάμενοι 1, 31, is for the most part a poetic verb, although it occurs occasionally in prose, as *Hdt.* 1, 132. Cf. ἐπαρώμενον, *Ant.* 5, 11.

εἵνεκα. And. has five instances of this form against fourteen of ἔνεκα, the regular Attic prose form found in *Thuc.*, *Ant.*, *Lys.*, *Isoc.*, *Aeschin.*, *Dinarch.*, and *Soph.* The longer form is used by *Hdt.*, while *Hom.*, *Hes.*, *Pind.*, *Aeschyl.*, *Eur.*, *Aristoph.*, *Xen.*, and *Dem.* show both forms.

ἐπισκήπτω 1, 32. "In the meaning here common in tragedy." *March.*

ἐπέγημε 1, 128. This is the only occurrence of this word in classical prose. Cf. *Eur.*, *Or.* 588 and *Al.* 306.

κληδών (= φήμη) 1, 130. "Only instance in Attic prose. Cf. *Hdt.* and tragedy." *Rutherford, New Phryn.*, p. 15.

καθομολογήσας 1, 42, occurs only here in classical writers, with the exception of *Plato*. Cf. *Gorg.* 499 B, *Crito*, 49 C, and *Ps.-Dem.* 56, 14.

καταπεπτωκυίας 1, 108, does not occur elsewhere in the orators, but is to be found occasionally in *Plato*, *Xenophon*, *Thucydides*, the tragedians, *Pindar* and *Homer*.

On the use of οἱ (dat. pers. pron.) in prose, cf. *Krüg.* 51, 2, 4, and *C. W. E. Miller, Rev. of Dyrhoff, A. J. P.*, xviii, 221. In *Andocides* it is found in 1, 15. 38. 40. 41. 42. (126).

πίστιν ἀπιστοτάτην 1, 67, *Blass* cites as borrowed from tragedy, paralleled by such expressions as νομος ἄνομος, χάρις ἄχαρις.

πρόρριζον 1, 146, does not occur elsewhere in the orators, and it seems at least plausible that our author had in mind, *Soph. El.* 765, πρόρριζον ἐφθάρται γένος, when he says οὐκ ἔστιν ὑμῖν ἔτι λοιπὸς τοῦ γένους τοῦ ἡμετέρου οὐδεῖς, ἀλλ' οἴχεται πᾶν πρόρριζον.

We need not insist on the compounds παρασυλλεγέστες 1, 133, συνεκτραφεῖς 1, 48, συγκατέσκαψας 1, 101, except to show the fondness *Andocides* displays for the use of double compounds, as already noted.

In the second oration the instances of poetic coloring are more

numerous in proportion to the length of the oration than in the first. Take for example compounds in *δυσ-*, which are for the most part poetic. Of these Andocides has eight examples of which seven are in oration second and only *δυσχεραίνειν* (in 3, 35) outside of it. This latter word occurs with considerable frequency in prose. The instances in Or. 2 are as follows: *δυσμενεστάτους* 2, 2, *δυσμενεῖς* 2, 3, *δυσπραξία* 2, 6, *δυσδαιμονίας* 2, 7, *δυσδαιμονέστερος* 2, 9, *δυστυχέστατος* 2, 9, *δυστυχήματι* 2, 9. It is noteworthy within how short a compass they occur. It is, as it were, a blotch of poetic coloring thrown in here. Not all of these words are equally rare in prose. *δυστυχής* and *δυσμενής* are much more frequent than the others. Besides this class of words there are certain others in this oration unusual in the orators.

ἀπωλοφυράμην 2, 16, is found elsewhere only in Thuc. and Xen. of classical writers.

ἄπονον 2, 22, is not used by the other orators.

ἐπαινρέσθαι 2, 2, is not found elsewhere in classical prose except in *Hdt.* 7, 180.

εὐθαρσεῖν is not to be found in classic prose but is used by Aeschylus.

περικαίονται 2, 2, is found only here in classical prose. The same may be said of *προσπηδῶ* 2, 15.

In 2, 7 we have an instance of the use of *σύν*, which is unusual among prose authors apart from Xenophon.¹

ὑπουργημάτων 2, 17, is found elsewhere only in *Xen.*, *Hier.* 8, 7, and *Hdt.* 1, 137, among classic writers.

φρενῶν 2, 7, is rare in prose and is here a survival, according to Rutherford, *New Phryn.*, p. 9.

In Oration 3, about the only instances of words not common to some of the other orators are such as show our author's inclination to use compound verbs such as *διαβουλεύσασθαι* 3, 21, *ἐμπολεμεῖν* 3, 27, *κατεκλήσαμεν* 3, 7.

As might be expected, there are some unusual words among the fragments of Andocides.

Another feature of the vocabulary of Andocides is his use of "*τε solitarium*," of which the following examples may be noted:

¹See *Mommsen*, *Beitraege zu der Lehre von den griechischen Präpositionen*, Berlin, 1895, p. 1.

1, 21. 61. 107. 111. 2, 15(*bis*). 19. 3, 7(*bis*). 9. 30. 33. 39. 40. This use of τε has been termed "τε postscript," and of it Devries, "*Ethopoia*," p. 32, says, "It is an old Attic usage not common in prose literature but still lingering, perhaps, in that natural home of archaic expressions, the language of the common people." τε - - δέ 1, 5. 58, is frequent in tragedy.

CHAPTER IV.

His use of Tropes and Figures. Hiatus.

Before coming to the consideration of Andocides' use of rhetorical figures it may be interesting to summarize the varying opinions which some scholars have held concerning the subject.

Frenzel says, "He lacks almost all the ornaments of diction, tropes and figures, except anaphora."

Kirchner says, "Andocides abstains from all ornaments of diction and uses almost no figures except anaphora, which in itself consists in a certain verbosity."

Francke notices the use of epanaphora, homoioteleuton, paronomasia, asyndeton, interrogation, hypophora, and dilemma. His lists, however, are not exhaustive. He says that Andocides is "sparing of circumlocutions," while Frenzel says that he is "fond of περίφρασις with εἶναι, γίγνεσθαι, καταστῆναι, ποιῆσθαι, ἔχειν, and similar words with nouns added, having together the force and signification of single words." On this point of dispute Frenzel is in the right.¹

Jebb says, "Andocides has scarcely any σχήματα."

Blass says, "Although Andocides does not strive for the ornament of the Gorgianic figures this does not exclude their occurrence in the more pointed and artistic antitheses and play upon words of which paronomasia is a part. Such scattered art as is found in 3, 27. 1, 100 and 1, 124, he would have avoided if he had wished to be plain. It shows that he was following his nature. . . . The case is not the same with the enlivening (belebenden) as with

¹ Cf. 1, 9. 17. 19. 58. 59. 63. 72. 73. 82. 107. 111. 129. 139. 2, 7. 15. 26. 28. 3, 12. 21. 31. 33. κτλ.

the ornamental figures; anaphora, the various forms of question, hypophora, asyndeton, by the manifold employment of which Andocides' speech is distinguished from that of Antiphon, not to his disadvantage. All this belongs in no wise to the art of the rhetorician, since the figures named were employed as well by the poets before the introduction of rhetoric as they were avoided by Isocrates."

Croiset (4, p. 428) says, "In the '*De Reditu*' the influence of Antiphon is perceptible in his antitheses, abstractions and stiffness."

Perrot (p. 212) says, "Andocides formed the transition between the ancient Attics, such as Pericles, Antiphon, Thucydides and the orators of the fourth century."

Then, not to omit the testimony of the ancients, from whom he received so little attention:—

Dionysius mentions him twice; (1) in speaking of the peculiar dialect of Thucydides (*de Thuc.*, c. 51) he says that it is not that employed by Andocides, Antiphon, or Lysias. (2) He declares that Lysias is the standard for contemporary Attic, as may be judged from the speeches of Andocides, Critias, and many others (*de Lys.*, c. 2).

Quintilian (12, 10, 21) asks "Who is to be the model of Attic eloquence?" and replies "Let it be Lysias; for his is the style in which the lovers of Atticism delight. At any rate we shall not be sent back all the way to Andocides and Kokkos."

Philostratus (*Vit. Herod. Att.*) relates that "when Herodes Atticus was told by his Greek admirers that he deserved to be numbered with the Attic Ten, he turned off the compliment with an adroitness which his biographer commends, by saying, 'At all events I am better than Andocides.'" It may be observed in passing that he was possibly mistaken in his overestimate of himself (*cf. A. J. P.*, 6, 489).

Hermogenes (*Spengel*, II, 416) says, "Andocides aims at being a πολιτικὸς ῥήτωρ, but does not quite achieve it. His figures want clear articulation; his arrangement is not lucid; he constantly tacks on clause to clause, or amplifies in an irregular fashion, using parentheses to the loss of a distinct order. On these accounts he has seemed to some a frivolous and generally obscure speaker. Of

finish and ornament his share is small ; he is equally deficient in fiery earnestness. Again, he has little or rather very little of that oratorical power which is shown in method ; general oratorical power he has almost none."

A current misconception of Andocides is to be seen in Rutherford's statement in the *New Phrynichus*, p. 30 : " Like Thucydides, Antiphon wrote in a period when Attic had not yet reached its full strength, and now and again lapsed into old faults ; but in the vigorous rhetoric of his junior, Andocides, it is strange to meet with a term like *ἐπ'αυρέσθαι* 2, 2 (*cf. Hdt. 7, 180, Hippocr. de Morb. 4, 498, 29, 32. 502, 5. 503, 25. 504, 22. 25. 47. Aeschyl. P. V. 28, Eur. I. T. 592, Hel. 469*). It is a distinct instance of an old word quite uncalled for and stands on a different footing from *ἀπιστεύς*, which is appropriately used in speaking of the siege of Troy in a funeral oration ascribed, though, perhaps, erroneously, to Demosthenes (60, 10)." This appears to be a misconception of Andocides, because the author seems to think it strange that he has found a trace of tragic diction in Andocides, as if our orator belonged entirely to the new school of oratory represented by Lysias and his successors, and were not rather a transition between the old and the new.

It will thus be seen that the criticism on Andocides, though meagre, is varied, but for the most part adverse. This adverse judgment has arisen, I think, because his critics have sought in him the characteristics of an artistic orator, and failing to find these have condemned him. He is one of Nature's orators, who had not perfected himself by practice. It is this that constitutes one of his chief charms, apart from the importance of his transitional position. We come first, then, to the more poetic features in our author's diction.

(b). *Tropes and Poetic Figures.*

Andocides' share in the use of tropes and poetical figures is not large. Metaphor is more abundant than synecdoche and metonymy. Here, too, in the employment of this essentially poetic device, Oration 2 shows a considerably larger proportion than the later speeches. In the use of metaphor he may be profit-

ably compared with Aeschines, showing the stronger hold which poetry had upon the latter.¹

Frazer (J. H. U. dissertation, 1897) finds 196 different metaphors employed by Aeschines, of which 21 are to be found in the three genuine orations of Andocides. Of these 21, however, quite a number have, in Andocides' use of them at least, lost their original figurative signification and can no longer be considered metaphors. The following, however, may be admitted: *θηρεύειν* 1, 9. *περιπίπτειν* 1, 138. *ἰᾶσθαι* 2, 9. *ὑψηλός* 3, 7.

Other metaphors used by Andocides and not found in Aeschines are as follows: *φρικώδη* 1, 29. *ἐλεγχος ἡδιστος* 1, 30. *ἐπίτριπτον κίναδος* 1, 99 (cf. *Soph. Ai.* 103). *διαπεπλησμένος* 1, 125. *ἀλιτήριον* 1, 130. *συνέστησαν* 1, 134. *ἀνηκέστοις συμφοραῖς* 1, 142. *οἷχεται πᾶν πρόρριζον* 1, 146. *περικαίονται* 2, 2. *δυσχυρίζεσθαι* 2, 4. *ὁδόν τε καὶ πόρον* 2, 16. *κακόν* 2, 16. *ἐκτείνειν* 3, 31.

Synecdoche.—We have an example of synecdoche in 1, 51, *ἀναγραφέντας* being used of the people instead of their names.

Metonymy.—Instances of metonymy are the following: 1, 25, *φυγόντων ἐπὶ τοῖς μυστηρίοις*. 1, 38, *ὁ στρατηγὸς* - - *ὁ χαλκοῦς*. 1, 68, *οἱ νῦν ὁρῶσι τοῦ ἡλίου τὸ φῶς δι' ἐμέ* (cf. *Od.* 10, 498). 1, 107, *τὴν σφετέραν* - - *ἀρετὴν ἰκανὴν* - - *τῷ πλήθει* - - *ἀντιτάξασθαι* (cf. *Thuc.* 3, 56). 2, 7, *ἐλθεῖν εἰς τοιαύτην συμφορὰν τῶν φρενῶν*.

Zeugma.—Zeugma is found in 1, 63, *χαλεπώτεροι* - - *ἐχθροὶ ἢ ἄλλοι* - - *φίλοι*, and 1, 81, *σῶζειν τὴν πόλιν ἢ τὰς ἰδίας τιμωρίας*.

Anastrophe.—One instance of the use of anastrophe is found in the orations of Andocides, 3, 34, *εἰρήνης δὲ πέρι*. Such transpositions as this are extremely rare in prose literature, with the exception, perhaps, of Herodotus, and according to *Aristot. poet.*, c. 22, were completely foreign to actual life.

(c). Figures of Repetition.

We turn next to the consideration of the rhetorical figures which may be grouped together as various forms of repetition. Now repetition of any kind arises either intentionally or unintentionally: intentionally, for the sake of emphasis or ornament;

¹ In the comparison it must be remembered that the compass of Aeschines' orations is about three times that of Andocides'.

unintentionally, as the result of negligence or poverty of resource. *Cornif.*, IV, 14, 21, says: "in his quattuor generibus exornationum (repetitio, conversio, complexio, traductio) quae adhuc proposita sunt, non inopia verborum fit, set inest festivitas quaedam, quae facilius auribus diiudicari quam verbis demonstrari potest." Robertson, after quoting this passage from Cornificius, says that "In most cases the effect of rhetorical repetition is cumulative, serving to strengthen an idea by repeating it, and that the effect of repetition when not rhetorical is simply that it displays a poverty of vocabulary and of linguistic resources."

We appear justified in considering as rhetorical all repetition that seems calculated by the author to produce some effect. In the case of Andocides the repetition appears to be largely for the sake of emphasis, sometimes from negligence or poverty of resource, and seldom if ever for the sake of mere ornament. If his repetitions were entirely the result of negligence, as some have thought, we should not find, as we do, that occasional effort to secure variety by the use of synonymous expressions. And if this is less frequent than we should expect we must bear in mind that the eager pursuit of *ποικιλία* is for the most part post-Isocratic. His position is rather that of a speaker, without a very extensive vocabulary at his command, so absorbed in the idea which he wishes to express that it continually comes to the surface, and in cases where the repetition is not for the sake of emphasis, he has not acquired the technical skill to change the phraseology artistically. He must emphasize the thought, so he repeats it.

Paronomasia.—The simplest form of repetition is that variety of paronomasia in which the same word (or a word from the same root) is simply repeated without any play upon words and without regard to the position in the sentence which the repeated words occupy. This is one of the two main divisions of paronomasia, according to Straub, p. 136, who bases his assertion upon the authority of the ancient rhetoricians. The second form occurs when the word is understood differently in the two places and is somewhat analogous to our modern pun. The former class at times does not differ from polyptoton. Robertson, in his treatment of paronomasia, seems to admit only that variety in which there is a change in the meaning of the word repeated, for he says

(p. 21) "that the nature of paronomasia and parechesis is that a certain similarity in sound between two words is accompanied by a dissimilar meaning." While this may be the only variety of paronomasia to which Gorgias gave prominence, yet certainly in some of the examples cited from other authors the difference in meaning between the words repeated approaches the vanishing point. As to the sphere of paronomasia, we may quote the words of Casanowicz (*Paronomasia in the Old Testament*, J. H. U. dissert., 1894): "Figures based on similarity of sound probably date beyond the rise of any regular literature and originated in popular poetry and proverbs. By their nature they recommend themselves to the popular mind and popular ear, appealing as they do not so much to the intellect as to the attention, imagination and emotion. From the popular language these figures passed over into literature as devices of style, and unlike the higher beauties of thought and expression, their proper home in literary style will have to be sought in a diction which approaches the popular speech. Judiciously employed, and subordinated to the higher ends of speech, these figures can be made to give tone and color to an entire passage. In prose they may serve to bring into relief the most important ideas, to combine correlated words by the concrete bond of sound and to impress them on mind and memory. In poetry they contribute to its music and give it characteristic tone and energy. They support the serenity and liveliness of comedy, while to the tragic tone they may convey a certain dignity and solemnity." As an example of the use of this figure we may quote the following: 1, 36, ἐπειδὴ - - ὁ κῆρυξ - - τὸ σημεῖον καθέλοι, τῷ αὐτῷ σημείῳ ἢ μὲν βουλὴ εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἦει.

The instances of the use of paronomasia of the first class in Andocides are the following: 1, 2. 4. 7. 12. 19. 21. 22. 24. 25. 27. 30. 32. 36. 39. 40. 42. 73. 80. 82. 86. 99. 111. 116. 127. 128. 131. 134. 138. 143. 2, 1. 6. 8. 10. 11. 12(*bis*). 13. 17. 24. 3, 7. 11. 12. 13. 17. 29. 32. 33. 35. 39. 41.

Parechesis.—Parechesis differs from paronomasia in that in the latter figure the words of similar sound are from the same root, while in the former they are from different roots. Only those instances have been noted, as clearly intentional, in which an antithesis is marked by employing as the important words in the two

clauses such as have a general correspondence in sound, as in 2, 24, τὸ μὲν σῶμα τυγχάνει ταῦτόν ἐτι ὄν, - - ἡ δὲ γνώμη - - ἑτέρα, κτλ. Cf. also 1, 74. 131. 3, 16.

Polypytoton.—Polypytoton arises when in the repetition of a word there is a variation in case (cf. *Quint.*, 9, 3, 36). A notable instance of this figure is cited by Volkmann in which in the succeeding sentences the name of Demosthenes appears in every case of the declension, and that, too, in regular order.

We may cite the following examples from Andocides: 1, 20, εἰ ἐμήνυσσα μὲν κατὰ τοῦ πατρός, - - ἰκέτευον δὲ τὸν πατέρα - - καὶ ὁ πατήρ ἐπείσθη, κτλ. Also 1, 7. 8. 27. 36. 73. 75. 82. 89. 102. 109. 110. 114. 128. 133. 136. 2, 12. 3, 1. 12. 16. 41.

Decidedly more art is displayed when the words repeated occur in corresponding positions in succeeding cola. This gives rise to quite a variety of figures. *Paronomasia* becomes *Epanaphora* when the word repeated appears in the first place in succeeding sentences or clauses. According to Nägelsbach, *Latin Style*, § 168, "(Ep)anaphora is not merely the repetition of the same word at the beginning of several sentences, but especially the recurrence of the same succession of words in the same or different sentences. Also the corresponding words need not be everywhere grammatically of the same kind." According to Rehdantz, *Indices*, "The recurrence of the same word at the beginning of several succeeding sentences occurs where the homogeneous contents of the sentence concentrates itself on a word which, therefore, on account of its prominent importance takes the first place." He is of the opinion that Andocides seldom employs this figure.

Although epanaphora does occur in the inartistic style of the fable, it is not at all common. The proverb is a little more formal in style, and we find an increase in the use of this and kindred figures. When we come to Homer and the tragic poets, epanaphora is to be found in abundance, and is the means of emphasizing most emphatically the word thus repeated.

Andocides shows the following instances of its use: 1, 104, πολλοὶ μὲν ἐχθροὶ πολλοὶ δὲ συκοφάνται, κτλ. Also 1, 3. 18. 35. 38. 49. 50. 56. 62. 72. 74. 89. 93. 105. 116. 140. 144. 147. 148. 2, 8. 22. 3, 1. 5. 6. 14. 26(*bis*). 30. 41.

Francke thinks that the figure is consciously avoided in 1, 12. 144. 3, 10. 41.

Antistrophe.—When succeeding sentences or clauses end with the same word the figure is called antistrophe.

Andocides has the following examples of this figure: 2, 22, εἰ μὲν βούλεσθε, αἰτῶ, εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε, ἀπαιτῶ. Also 1, 59. 86. 90. 92. 105. 114. 120. 2, 1. 3, 13. 16. 27.

Symploce.—Symploce occurs when epanaphora and antistrophe are combined. This figure is quite rare and is entirely too artificial for such a writer as Andocides.

Epanastrophe.—When the word which forms the close of a clause or sentence is placed at the opening of the succeeding clause we have a figure which is variously styled by different rhetoricians *παλλιλλογία*, *ἀναδίπλωσις*, *ἐπαναδίπλωσις*, *ἀναστροφή* or *ἐπαναστροφή*. I have adopted the compound epanastrophe to avoid the confusion which would arise from applying the simple word anastrophe as well to this figure as to the poetic retraction of the accent when a preposition follows its noun. Only two examples of the use of epanastrophe were noted in the orations of Andocides. These are: 1, 59, *τὰντα μὲν οὖν ἦν ἐμοῦ μὴ εἰπόντος· εἰπὼν δὲ τὰ ὄντα, κτλ.* Also 1, 89.

Κύκλος.—*Κύκλος* arises, according to Hermogenes, 252, “when-ever anyone ends with the same noun or verb with which he began without a change of case, person, tense or number.” Other rhetoricians have widened the scope of this figure to include cases in which there is a change in some of these latter respects. I have included not only cases in which one clause ends with the word with which the preceding clause begins, but also cases where a single clause begins and ends with the same word.

The instances of its use in Andocides are found at 1, 40, *εἰπεῖν οὖν τὸν Εὐφρημον ὅτι καλῶς ποιήσειεν εἰπὼν, κτλ.* Also 1, 25. 81. 82. 99. 125. 136. 146. 2, 19. 3, 23. 25. 27.

Of antistrophe, epanastrophe, and *κύκλος*, I found no examples in the fables examined, and but three instances of antistrophe in the proverbs. These figures occur with considerable frequency in the tragic poets, but are not nearly so common as epanaphora.

Epanadiplosis.—The mere repetition of a word in a single clause without words intervening, does not occur in Andocides. This fig-

are, to which among many others the name epanadiplosis is applied, is to be found especially in a style that is impassioned or at least full of deep, earnest feeling. Neither of these traits is particularly characteristic of our author.

Other figures of repetition.—Beside the figures of repetition thus far considered, whose essential difference lies in the different positions in the sentence which the repeated words occupy, many of the remaining figures employed by Andocides may be grouped under this head, although not always so classed. The repetition is one of thought or of letter. The figures which I would include in this class are Amplificatio, Arsis, Figura Etymologica, Alliteration, Homoioteleuton.

Amplificatio.—The term Amplificatio in a measure explains itself, but its scope varies in different authorities who have treated the subject. With Rehdantz, for example, it is very comprehensive, and includes not only all of the figures of repetition described above, but also (1) Arsis, (2) the linking of synonyms, (3) the *σχήμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ μέρος*, and (4) the expansion of a substantive by a sentence.

Rehdantz says that Amplificatio arises because “a notion or thought which is felt strongly and deeply, occupies more than ordinary space in the mind of the speaker and seeks corresponding amplification in its expression.” A term so general in its application as Rehdantz makes this is apt to be indefinite. It has seemed better, therefore, to use the term in a more limited sense and tabulate under this head only the forms in which the word is self-explanatory and corresponds very nearly to our “amplification.” For the other forms included by Rehdantz, the specific terms, ready to hand in general use, have been employed.

Andocides displays a fondness for the use of Amplificatio with forms of *οἵχεται* and a participle as in 1, 4, 15(*bis*). 19. 34. 44. 52. 66. 112. 125.

He also has a habit of amplifying by stating a thought and then analysing it, as in 1, 2. 3. 4. 6. 9. 10. 12. 18. 20. 22. 23. 33. 40. 43. 47. 51. 57. 73. 86. 106. 110. 111. 2, 8. 3, 16. 36. 37. 39.

“*Chain-shot.*”—Still another form of Amplificatio is observable in our author, secured by the linking together of synonyms

into a complex, to which Dr. Gildersleeve has given the apt metaphorical designation "chain-shot," from the similar effect designed by the military and by the verbal battery. This device is not an innovation that made its appearance with the advent of rhetorical orators, but is found even as early as the Homeric poems. In Isocrates and Demosthenes the figure has been embellished by rhetorical art, and the synonyms are grouped with a view to producing rhythm or climax. Lysias does not ordinarily employ this mode of expression, but does use it occasionally with words of "asking" or "beseeching." In Andocides the art of his rhetorically-trained successors is lacking, and he employs the figure simply for the sake of emphasis, dwelling upon the thought by expressing it a second time in a slightly varied form.

The examples of "chain-shot" have been grouped under five heads, according as the expressions thus linked are verbs (1, 21, *παρατεῖσθαι καὶ δεῖσθαι*), participles (1, 48, *ἦν δὲ βοὴ καὶ οἶκτος κλαίωντων καὶ ὀδυρομένων*), nouns (1, 56, *οὔτε μετὰ κακίας οὔτε μετ' ἀνανδρίας*, κτλ.), adjectives (1, 29, *τὰ δεινὰ καὶ φρικῶδη ἀνωρθίαζον*), or phrases (3, 29, *σπονδὰς ποιησάμενοι καὶ συνθέμενοι φιλίαν*).

(1) Verbs. 1, 4. 21. 49. 52. 62. 63. 67. 70. 72. 74. 105(*bis*). 124. 125. 132. 135. 139. 149. 3, 26. 34.

(2) Participles. 1, 6. 12. 17. 30. 48. 51. 52. 106. 122. 132. 3, 34.

(3) Nouns. 1, 50. 56(*bis*). 66. 74. 88. 91. 107. 122. 141. 144. 2, 8. 10. 13. 16. 17. 19.

(4) Adjectives. 1, 29. 109. 140. 2, 10.

(5) Phrases. 1, 19. 107. 121. 3, 29.

Arsis.—*Arsis*, or more properly *σχῆμα κατ' ἄρσιν καὶ θέσιν*, arises when a notion positively expressed is followed by the denial of its opposite, or *vice versa*. In Andocides we find the figure used in the following places :

1, 2, *μὴ περιόψεσθαι με ἀδίκως διαφθαρέντα* - ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον σώσειν δικαίως. 1, 4, *οὔτ' ἂν ὑπομείναιμι, οἰχήσομαι τε φεύγων* (cf. 1. 19). 1, 8, *διδάσκειν πάντα—καὶ παραλιπεῖν μηδέν*. 1, 56, *μετ' ἀρετῆς ἀλλ' οὐ μετὰ κακίας*. 1, 70, *νομίζει τι μὴ ἱκανῶς εἰρῆσθαι ἢ παραλέλοιπά τι*. 1, 75, *οὐ παντάπασιν ἄτιμοι ἦσαν ἀλλὰ μέρος τι αὐτῶν*. 1, 106, *οὐ κακῶς ἔχει ἀλλὰ τὰ προσήκοντα*

καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα. 1, 117, ἅπαις ἀρρένων παίδων, θυγατέρας δὲ δύο καταλιπών. 1, 146, λοιπὸς τοῦ γένους τοῦ ἡμετέρου οὐδεὶς, ἀλλ' οἷχεται πᾶν πρόρριζον.

2, 4, οὐκ ἀφ' αὐτῶν - - ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν ἐτέρων. 2, 9, χάριν - - οὐ μῖσος.

3, 24, μὴ συμπολεμούντων, εἰρήνην δὲ ποιουμένων. 3, 41, τὸ τέλος παρ' ὑμῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν Λακεδαιμονίοις.

Arsis occurs occasionally in the fables, but is quite abundant in tragic diction. It is said to be especially frequent in Herodotus and in the artistic orators.

Figura Etymologica.—*Figura Etymologica*, which Volkmann calls the simplest kind of paronomasia and purely grammatical, occurs when two words from the same stem are used in grammatical connection. This relation is most frequently, but not necessarily, that of a verb and its cognate accusative, or that of subject and predicate.

The vulgarity of the figure seems to have been recognized by as early a critic as Dionysius, at least. Kühner (1086, 2) thinks that the more pleonastic forms (as οἰκίαν οἰκοδομεῖν) have been taken into the literary language from the popular speech. According to Schulze (*"De figurae etymologicae apud oratores Atticos usu"*), the figure is not of great frequency in the Attic orators compared to the bulk. The same author says that Demosthenes and Aeschines were the most zealous in its use, Isocrates¹ and Lysurgus avoided it, while the remaining orators used it with moderation and prudence. Newhall (*"Dramatic and Mimetic features of the Gorgias of Plato"*) calls the figure familiar and old-fashioned and thinks that there is evidence to show that it was a favorite usage of Socrates and that Plato became scarcely less devoted to it than his master. That the figure was not excluded from the loftier diction of tragic poetry an abundance of examples will testify. It is interesting to note, however, that nearly two-thirds of the examples from the *Iliad* occur in speeches. The figure is found quite frequently in the inartistic prose of the proverbs and fables, and also occurs in Aristophanes, who even sometimes coins a word for the sake of using it in connection with

¹ Blass goes too far when he says: die dem Isokrates völlig fremde figura etymologica, III, 2, 203. See Schulze.

another from the same stem, as in *Birds*, 42. All of these things show its essentially popular conversational nature.

The following examples may be cited from Andocides :

μάρτυρες μεμαρτυρήκασιν 1, 19. 25. ἀγῶνα ἀγωνίσασθαι 1, 20. μηνύσεις - - ἐμήνυσε 1, 28. ἡμαρτηκόσι - - ἁμαρτήματα 1, 30. ἀρασάμενοι - - ἀράς 1, 31. ἐγγυητὰς - - ἡγγυήσαντο 1, 44. πρυτάνεις - - πρυτανεύσαντας 1, 46. ἔργον εἰργασμένους 1, 52. τεθνεῶτες - - ἐτέθνασαν 1, 59. φεύγοντες - - ἔφευγον 1, 59. πίστιν - - ἀπιστοτάτην 1, 67. ἁμαρτόντων - - ἁμαρτίαν 1, 67. ἄρξαντες ἀρχάς 1, 73. 147. ἐγγύας ἡγγυήσαντο 1, 73. ἐψηφίσασθε - - ψηφίσματα 1, 76. ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους 1, 73. 80. 103. 107. 109. δίκαι ἀνάδικοι 1, 88. τῆς ἀρχῆς ἧς ἥρξεν 1, 90. βουλὴ - - βουλευούσα 1, 91. κῆρυξ ἐκήρυττε 1, 112. ἄπαις - - παίδων 1, 117. γήμας ἐπέγημε 1, 128. πόλεως - - πολίτην 1, 144. στρατηγήσαντες στρατηγίας 1, 147. ἔργον - - ἐργασάμενοι 1, 108.

ἀποδεικνύντος - - ἀποδείξεις 2, 3. πρᾶγμα - - ἐπέπρακτο 2, 14. ψήφισμα ψηφισάμενοι 2, 23. 24.

ἐτειχίσαμεν - - τεῖχος 3, 5. τεῖχος - - ἐτειχίσθη 3, 7. ἔχειν - - ἔχοντας 3, 12. βούλευμα - - ἐβουλευσάμεθα 3, 29. γράμματα - - γεγραμμένα 3, 35. τειχισάμενοι - - τείχη 3, 38.

Alliteration.—Alliteration is the recurrence of the same letter at the beginning of succeeding words. The name of this phenomenon seems to be not of antique origin but the invention of Joannes Jovianus Pontanus, the Italian humanist of the 15th century.¹ According to Casanowicz "the sphere of alliteration and rhyme common to all languages is in proverbial phrases and other brief sayings which have become stereotyped or idiomatic expressions." Yet it is not entirely absent from the loftier spheres of the language.

We may cite from Andocides the following instances of its use :

1, 7. 10. 18. 19. 25. 30. 32. 33. 42. 51. 57. 59. 61. 62. 65. 67. 68. 73. 80. 89. 95. 106. 107. 111. 113. 115. 141. 144. 145. 147. 149. 2, 10. 11. 17. 18. 23. 25. 26. 27. 3, 6. 8. 15. 18. 19. 28. 30. 31. 41.

It may with reason be doubted whether the alliteration is in all cases intentional. We are, however, at least justified in asserting that he does not avoid such recurrence of the same sound.

¹ Volkmann, *Rhetorik*, S., 515.

Unordered Repetition.—By Unordered Repetition I have designated those passages where the recurring words or phrases are too far apart to have any rhetorical effect, such as, especially, 1, 104. 112–117. 126–127. 136 and 149. 2, 25. 3, 4 and 6. 5 and 7.

Such, then, are the various forms of repetition to be found in Andocides, and it is to be noted that in proportion to the length of his work the instances are quite numerous. In fact, repetition is a marked feature of his style. He uses not only such figures of repetition as are found in the low level of inartistic prose, but also such as are more characteristic of the loftier diction of the tragedians.

(d). *Enlivening Figures.*

The next group of figures that calls for our consideration comprises those which especially serve to enliven the style of Andocides. These are prosopopoeia, apostrophe, paronomasia (of the second class), hypophora, hypostrophe, hyperbaton, irony, oxymoron, asyndeton, polysyndeton, and the various forms of rhetorical question.

Prosopopoeia.—Prosopopoeia, as we find it in Andocides, is the introduction of absent characters as if they were present. The term is used by some authorities to designate the attributing of life to inanimate objects. According to Quintilian it lends to the speech great variety and tone. Following is the list of occurrences of this figure in the orations of Andocides: 1, 101, ἀνέκρινε δ' ἄν με τίς ἄλλος ἢ Χαρικλῆς ἐρωτῶν, Εἰπέ μοι ὦ Ἀνδοκίδη, ἦλθες εἰς Δεκέλειαν, κτλ. Also 1, 4. 11. 49. 63. 90. 116. 126. 135. 2, 14.

Apostrophe.—Apostrophe occurs when the speaker turns from the judges to address some one else. This is most frequently his opponent or one of the witnesses. I have made a subdivision of the cases in which the orator turns from addressing the judges collectively and speaks to them individually.

Of Apostrophe proper, we note the following examples: 1, 95, ἄλλο τι οὖν, ὦ Ἐπίχαρες, κτλ. Also 1, 18. 99. 112. 150.

The cases where the judges are individualized are: 1, 46, ὅποσοι ὑμῶν παρήσαν, - - τοὺς ἄλλους διδάσκετε. Also 1, 29. 37. 57. 69.

Paronomasia (2nd class).—Respecting the sphere of what we have termed the second class of paronomasia, where there is somewhat of a play upon words in the repetition, Casanowicz says it is to be looked for in the “middle speech, as in conversations, the epistolary style, in proverbs, epigrams, satires and dialogs, where jest is admissible, but that it may give a tinge of sharpness and sarcasm to grave and excited speech.” Andocides employs it in the following passages: 1, 124, καὶ συνώκει - - τῇ μητρὶ καὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ, ἱερεὺς ὦν τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς, κτλ. Also 1, 24. 61. 65. 81. 100. 107. 115. 127. 131. 138. 147. 2, 22. 3, 27.

Hypophora.—Hypophora is the raising of an anticipated objection for the sake of refuting it. Of course, the natural province of this figure is in the speech for prosecution rather than that for defence, and as might be expected in the case of Andocides we find the large majority of instances in the third oration. They are: 1, 148, τίνα - - ἀναβιβάσομαι - - ; τὸν πατέρα ; ἀλλὰ τέθνηκεν. ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀδελφούς ; ἀλλ’ οὐκ εἰσίν. ἀλλὰ τοὺς παῖδας ; ἀλλ’ οὐπω γεγέννηται. Also 1, 4. 54. 3, 10. 13. 14. 15. 26. 33. 36. 40.

The article of Rehdantz on this figure in his *Indices* shows how elaborate a figure hypophora became in the hands of an artist like Demosthenes. He says of it that “it is a figure everywhere powerfully enhancing the liveliness of expression, and where several hypophorae follow one another it rises to dramatic vividness.” Andocides, 1, 148, is cited by Volkmann as a beautiful example of hypophora.

Hypostrophe.—Hypostrophe is the recurrence of the subject after a parenthesis. This, although not strictly an enlivening figure, contributes to this end in some degree. Its chief purpose is to secure clearness. The figure does not occur as often as might be expected in an author so fond of parentheses as Andocides. It is found in 1, 16, ἡ γυνὴ Ἀλκμεωνίδου - - αὕτη ἐμήνυσεν, κτλ. Also 1, 27. 30. 88. 95. 2, 11. 3, 5. 23.

Hyperbaton.—Hyperbaton consists in the wide separation of words which belong together. The term is most frequently applied to cases in which the emphatic word is drawn to the head of the sentence or cases where the article and noun are widely separated. The effect produced by the use of either of these forms of expression is to attract attention, in as much as the mind is held in sus-

pense for a greater or less length of time. According to Volkmann this figure is somewhat artificial. For the latter variety Andocides shows no special inclination, although there do occur expressions which might reasonably come under this head, as in 2, 27 and 28. Hyperbaton of the former kind is rather more frequent, but is not a marked feature of his style. The following, however, may be cited: 1, 1, τὴν μὲν παρασκευὴν ᾧ ἄνδρες - - ὥστε, κτλ. - - σχεδόν τι πάντες ἐπίστασθε. Also 1, 59. 64. 73. 90. 91. 95. 112. 118. 120. 2, 8. 19. 3, 36.

Irony.—A subtle vein of irony runs through the orations of our author and quite frequently comes to the surface, as in 1, 133, Ἀγύρριος γὰρ οὐτοσί, ὁ καλὸς κάγαθός, κτλ. Also 1, 4. 22. 37. 54. 93. 94(bis). 100(bis). 101. 115. 127. 129. 137. 139. 3, 26. 27. 29.

His irony is for the most part good-natured, so that we find very little use of the biting sarcasm seen in some of the greater orators.

One form that εἰρωνεία sometimes takes is Meiosis or understatement, which is found at 1, 143, καὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων - - οὐκ ἐλάχιστον μέρος οἱ ἐμοὶ πρόγονοι συνεβάλοντο. Also 1, 20. 36. 100. 109. 2, 7. 12. 13. 16. 18.

Oxymoron.—Oxymoron is produced by the juxtaposition of words of opposite meaning and has the effect of producing a sharp antithesis. The examples to be cited are found at 1, 67, ὅστις εἰσηγησάμενος μὲν Εὐφιλῆτι πίστιν τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀπιστοτάτην ἡναντιώθη, κτλ. Also 1, 73 (cf. 80. 103. 107. 109). 88. 135. 2, 27(bis). 3, 26.

Asyndeton and Polysyndeton.—Asyndeton arises by the omission of connectives; polysyndeton by the multiplication of them. According to Aristotle (*Rh.* 3, 12) asyndeton, because of its liveliness is especially suited to practical oratory. Its effect is to produce αὔξησις, in as much as many things seem to be said at once. Blass says that it occurs in Antiphon only where he does not try to shine with sophistic art, and that in Andocides it is in a high degree conducive to the naturalness and freshness of his style. In Oration 2, where the influence of his predecessor is to some degree perceptible, he avoids the use of asyndeton. It is to be found at 1, 18. 22. 38. 40. 42. 43. 48. 119. 122. 126. 3, 4. 6. 7. 24.

Polysyndeton lacks the abruptness of its counterpart and lends more of dignity and leisureliness to the style of the author employing it. Perhaps the best examples to be cited from Andocides are at 1, 48. 80. 101.

Rhetorical Question.—The Question as an element in rhetorical effect is not very extensively treated by the Greek rhetoricians. Alexander's division of the question is two-fold (*cf. Spengel*, 3, 24-25); (a) ἐρώτημα is a question that can be answered by "yes" or "no," while (b) πύσμα is a question where it is necessary to go into more detail. Very much to the same effect is the statement in Zonaeus (*S.* 3, 163) and Anonymus (*S.* 3, 179).

Tiberius (*S.* 3, 64) says that the objects to be gained by the use of the rhetorical question are four: προσοχή (attention), σαφήνεια (clearness), ἐνάργεια (vividness), and ἔλεγχος (confutation).

Andocides makes abundant use of the rhetorical question, there being an average of about one to a Teubner page in the three genuine orations. The proportion is largest in the third.

Most of the questions employed by Andocides may be comprised under five heads, according to the purpose for which they are employed: (1) for affirmation, (2) for negation, (3) for amplification, (4) as an appeal to the feelings, (5) such as are difficult or impossible to answer. Besides this he uses questions in hypophora, apostrophe, prosopopoeia, and διαπόρῃσις (dubitatio).

Questions of the first two classes may be subdivided into those which have a direct answer and those which have not. If a direct answer is not given by the speaker, the question is so framed that the affirmation or negation is perfectly evident. Those of the third class all have answers, while those of classes four and five are all unanswered.

The instances of the use of rhetorical question may be classified as follows: ¹

I. For the sake of affirmation:

(1) With a direct answer, as 1, 101(a) and (b), εἰ γὰρ τότε ἡγωνιζόμεν, τίς ἄν μου κατηγοροί; οὐχ οὗτος ὑπῆρχεν, κτλ.; *Cf.* also 1, 129(a) (b).

¹The letters (a), (b), etc., are used when there is more than one question in a section, and they designate the first, second, etc., question of that section.

(2) Without a direct answer, as (A) 1, 22(b), οὐχ ὁ υἱὸς οὐτοσὶ μεμήνυκε κατὰ σοῦ, κτλ. ; Cf. also 1, 138. 3, 23(b). 25. 27. (B) with πῶς οὐκ, 3, 2. 16.

II. For the sake of negation :

(1) With direct answer, as 3, 4, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ὁ δῆμος - - ἔσθ' ὅπου κατελύθη ; οὐδεὶς ἀποδείξει. Cf. also 1, 22(c). 89. 3, 6(a). 10 (ἄλλο τι ἤ).

(2) Without a direct answer, as (A) 1, 137(a), τίς γὰρ κίνδυνος μεῖζων ἀνθρώποις ἢ χειμῶνος ὥρα πλεῖν τὴν θάλατταν ; (Cf. also 1, 21. 22(a). 29. 86. 132. 139. 2, 27. 3, 24(b). (B) with ἄλλο τι ἤ, 1, 95. 114. 2, 17(a). 17(b) (τί ἄλλο ἤ).

III. For the sake of amplification, as 1, 27, μετὰ ταῦτα τί ἐγένετο ; followed by the explanation. Cf. also 1, 73. 87. 90. 91(bis). 95(a) 109. 117. 128. 129(ter). 3, 6(b, c). 12. 20. 21(sexies). 23(a). 24(a). 26(c).

IV. To excite feelings of various kinds :

(1) Pity, 2, 7. (2) Scorn, 1, 100. (3) With insinuation, 3, 19. 22. (4) Appeal to judges' fairness, 1, 57. (5) Appeal to judges' apprehension, 1, 104(bis).

V. Questions difficult for opponent to answer, as 3, 26(a), ἰόντων δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων εἰς Ἄργος πότερον βοηθήσομεν αὐτοῖς ἢ οὐ ; Cf. also 1, 20(bis). 131. 3, 15(c). 26(b).

VI. Miscellaneous :

(1) In hypophora, as 1, 148(quarter), τίνα γὰρ καὶ ἀναβιβάσομαι δεησόμενον ὑπὲρ ἔμμαντοῦ ; τὸν πατέρα ; ἀλλὰ τέθνηκεν. Cf. also 3, 13. 14(quarter). 15(a), (b).

(2) In apostrophe, as 1, 99, πότερον, ὦ συκοφάντα καὶ ἐπίτριπτον κίναδος, κύριος ὁ νόμος ὃδ' ἐστὶν ἢ οὐ κύριος ; Cf. also 1, 14(ter).

(3) In prosopopoeia, 1, 101(sexies), the mock trial between Charicles and Andocides.

(4) In διαπόρησις, as 1, 51, πότερα περιῖδω τοὺς ἔμμαντοῦ συγγενεῖς ἀπολλυμένους ἀδίκως - - ἢ εἴπω Ἀθηναίοις ἅπερ ἤκουσα - - ;

(e). Conversational Elements.

Besides the figures already noted whose sphere lies especially in familiar and conversational language, such as "*figura etymologica*," alliteration, and some forms of *paronomasia*, there are to be found in the orations of Andocides certain other elements of stylistic expression which may properly be considered characteristic of conversational diction. In the first place conversational language is for the most part characterized by not infrequent *anacolutha*. These are quite numerous in Andocides, as 1, 4. 16. 27. 29. 57 f. 88. 95. 2, 16. 17. 3, 33.

Another feature no less characteristic of conversation, and even more abundant than *anacoluthon* in Andocides, is the insertion of explanatory parentheses, which are in some cases so protracted as to lead the author to forget the principal subject. As a result of the use of parentheses arises the necessity for the employment of *hypostrophe*. An extremely careful author would be apt to employ this figure after most of his parentheses in order that the connection might not be lost. Andocides uses it only a few times in comparison with the number of his parentheses. For the numerous use of the latter we may cite the following sections: 1, 15(*bis*). 16. 18. 25. 27. 41. 45. 47(*bis*). 48. 53. 54. 56. 57. 58. 60. 62. 65. 66. 75. 88. 89. 90. 95. 99. 100. 111. 113. 117(*bis*). 124. 127. 132. 138. 142. 144. 149. 2, 4. 7. 11. 15. 23. 26. 3, 3(*bis*). 20. 21. 22. 28. 29(*bis*). 31. 40.

(f). Gorgianic Figures.

A discussion of the figures of Andocides would be incomplete without some reference to the question as to whether he is dependent upon Gorgias. It is sometimes assumed that if an author employs the *σχήματα λέξεως*, he must have done so under the influence of a movement started by Gorgias. Hence the question arises in the treatment of Andocides, whether his occasional use of the so-called Gorgianic figures represents dependence upon Gorgias, imperfectly at the hands of an untrained genius, or whether he was employing elements natural to the language which Gorgias did not invent but only perfected and made artificial by exaggeration.

Robertson, p. 7, after sifting the various authorities, comes to the conclusion that the figures properly called Gorgianic are antithesis, parison, paromoion, and paronomasia. Aristotle's definitions of parison and paromoion seem to be the best available.

Aristotle says (*Rhet.* 3, 9, 1410a, 24), *παρίσωσις δ' ἐὰν ἴσα τὰ κῶλα, παρομοίωσις δ' ἐὰν ὅμοια τὰ ἔσχατα ἔχῃ ἐκάτερον τὸ κῶλον.* And further, as to the limitations of paromoion, he says, *ἀνάγκη δὲ ἢ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἢ ἐπὶ τελευτῆς ἔχειν. καὶ ἀρχὴ μὲν αἰεὶ τὰ ὀνόματα, ἢ δὲ τελευτὴ τὰς ἐσχάτας συλλαβὰς ἢ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὀνόματος πτώσεις ἢ τὸ αὐτὸ ὄνομα.* In other words, parison occurs when the cola are equal in length, whereas paromoion arises whenever in succeeding cola the first or last words are the same, with this limitation, that at the beginning of cola the words must be identical while at the end it is only necessary that the final syllables should be alike. This second variety of paromoion is homoioteleuton. To quote again from Robertson (p. 9): "How far their invention was due to Gorgias' teachers in Sicily cannot be known, but judging from early Sicilian writings, Gorgias' originality there also is probable. For Athenian literature, he was practically their inventor. Deductions must be made from his claims, in general, on account of the occurrence of some of his figures in a writer independent of his influence, like Heraclitus, and also on account of the popular tendency toward antithesis and paronomasia."

On p. 23 he says, "Antiphon, Andocides and Lysias all belong to the earlier stage of oratory and all made use of the Gorgianic figures. Antiphon's usage in this respect has been carefully studied. He employed the figures with conscious art and effectively, observing due moderation, in contrast with Gorgias. Andocides, in this as in other rhetorical points, followed the bent of his own untrained genius. He neither seeks nor avoids the Gorgianic figures, and where he employs them the nature of the subject is often the real cause, as is the case also with Thucydides. Lysias is particularly fond of antithesis and parison." For treatment of Antiphon, he refers to Belling, pp. 26-37, and Both, pp. 47-9, 59-62. On Lysias he cites Froberger, *Proleg.*, p. 12, F. Berbig, and Cüstrin, 1871, pp. xvi, xvii. For Andocides, he says special treatment is lacking. This lack I have attempted in some measure to supply. Of the four varieties of Gorgianic figures, parison and paromoion

seem more artificial in their nature than the other two, for, as Robertson correctly observes, there seems to be a "popular tendency toward antithesis and paronomasia." Although the two former figures do occur in the fables and proverbs, they are not nearly so frequent as one would be led to expect who was more familiar with the Hebrew proverbs. One reason for their absence is that so large a percentage of the Greek proverbs are too short to admit of any formally balanced structure, consisting as they often do of only two words. Now, when we come to examine the text of Andocides in detail, the result for the most part confirms our first impression. Of parison, his use is very slight. With reference to paromoion, doubtless part of the instances of homoioteleuton are accidental. Of the two more popular figures, antithesis and paronomasia, he makes more abundant use, but even here his antitheses are often such as are required by the thought and of the type native to the language. His use of paronomasia has already been treated.

Parison.—Of his sparing use of parison, the following examples may be cited: 3, 37, τὰ μὲν πείσαντες τοὺς Ἕλληνας, τὰ δὲ λαθόντες, τὰ δὲ πριάμενοι, τὰ δὲ βιασάμενοι. Also 1, 30. 31. 45. 64. 71. 105. 139. 2, 22. 3, 29. 30.

Marchant cites 1, 144–145 as being as regular as the sentence-structure of Isocrates. We see slight traces of this figure in inartistic prose, due in some cases, doubtless, to accident. We can say, at least, that it was not striven after there.

Paromoion.—Under the head of paromoion, we may cite the following instances of homoioteleuton: 1, 31, ἵνα τιμωρήσῃτε μὲν τοὺς ἀσεβοῦντας, σφύζετε δὲ τοὺς μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας. Also 1, 10. 21. 22. 44. 66. 67. 71. 72. 74. 75. 93. 103. 106. 109. 137. 2, 1. 2. 10. 22. 3, 1. 11. 26. 27. 28.

This figure occurs occasionally in fables and proverbs. It is also found in tragic poetry, but in all these cases, as with Andocides, it is difficult to say just how much of it is intentional. Francke thinks that Andocides shows more desire to avoid than employ this figure.

Antithesis.—The examples of antithesis to be found in Andocides are for the most part only such as are innate in the Greek language and not far removed from those of inartistic prose. He

seldom embellishes them artistically to make them more prominent. There are found four examples of the archaic *τοῦτο μὲν - - τοῦτο δέ* variety, 1, 103. 2, 16. 17. and 3, 40. The other instances to be cited are: 3, 12, *ἐκεῖ μὲν γέγραπται τὰ τεύχη καθαιρεῖν, ἐν δὲ τοῖσδε ἔξεστιν οἰκοδομεῖν· ναῦς ἐκεῖ μὲν δώδεκα κεκτῆσθαι, νῦν δ' ὅποσας ἂν βουλώμεθα, κτλ.* Also 1, 18. 30. 52. 57. 59. 63. 64. 71. 86. 93. 139. 144. 145. 2, 3. 8. 9. 10. 22. 27. 3, 6. 17. 18. 23. 27. 28. 30. 41.

(g). *Hiatus.*

Concerning hiatus in Andocides, Benseler (*De Hiatu in Orationibus Atticis*, p. 172 ff.) says that it was clearly not avoided in Orations 1 and 2, but that in Oration 3 is to be found a certain care and desire to avoid hiatus. A diligence of this kind he thinks was characteristic neither of the times in which Andocides lived nor of Andocides himself, as is seen from the first and second orations. This is certainly true of the times in which his first two orations were delivered. But it is worthy of note that the years between the delivery of orations one and three (399-390) were years of especial activity on the part of Isocrates, that master in the avoidance of hiatus. During these years he wrote at least six orations, and opened his school at Athens. It is not going too far to assume that Andocides made some attempt to follow this literary fad, which had such an influence upon his successors. Blass sees in the avoidance of hiatus in Oration 3, "a progress of the orator in seven years since the delivery of Oration 1." I certainly could not agree with those critics who see in this feature evidence for the spuriousness of the third oration.

CHAPTER V.

Andocides and Aeschines.

Richardson, in his edition of *Aeschines* against Ctesiphon, Intro., p. 30, says that "Among features fairly characteristic of the style of Aeschines may be mentioned:

- "1. Diatyposis, or vivid presentation of a picture.
- "2. Apostrophe.

"3. Inclination to digression, which justifies the verdict of Quintilian (x, 1, 77): 'Plenior Aeschines et magis fusus et grandiori similis quo minus strictus est; carnis tamen plus habet, minus lacertorum.'

"4. Exaggeration.

"5. A fondness for the '*figura etymologica*,' his most striking superficial characteristic.

"In a less striking degree than Demosthenes he exhibits: (1) The art of dramatic representation, *i. e.*, carrying on of a discussion with question and answer. (2) The use of a pair of words to express a single notion, mainly for the purpose of dwelling longer on the thought."

When we compare the foregoing estimate of Aeschines with the prominent characteristics of the diction of Andocides, there is seen to be a strong resemblance between these two amateur orators in many points. Their differences are due mainly to a difference in the social standing, disposition and training of the two men, as well as to the greater practice in his art which the younger man had. Both show their ability at dramatization in the portrayal of telling scenes and in the frequent use of apostrophe. Both show their lack of rhetorical training in their tendency to digression. Both have many points in common with the diction of conversational language. Aeschines was a man of greater natural ability than Andocides and more inclined to literary pursuits. Note his numerous quotations from the poets, of which there are no less than a dozen, including citations from Homer, Hesiod and Euripides. Then he was a man of more passion than Andocides, as may be seen from his greater vigor of expression and the profusion and variety of his oaths. He had received some preparation for his work as an orator by his short practice as an actor and his familiarity with the law courts. Andocides, on the other hand, was a successful man of affairs, who mounted the bema in defence of his own liberty. Some differences in their style find their explanation in the fact that Aeschines was of extremely humble origin, and had attained his position of prominence only by a severe struggle, which had left a certain bitterness, while Andocides was a member of the long-established aristocracy. True, his life had been a hard one, but successful enough in some

respects for him to retain the patronizing air characteristic of one of his position. Aeschines, while he has more of the poetic elements in his diction than Andocides, is at the same time more vulgar.

CHAPTER VI.

Authenticity of the Fourth Oration.

That the oration κατ' Ἀλκιβιάδου so long continued to be ascribed to Andocides is due in great measure to the fact that it is cited without suspicion by Harpocration and Photius, although some more recent writers claim to see a similarity of style between this and the other orations commonly attributed to him.

Ruhnken, in his reply to Taylor, says: "Whoever obtains a certain familiarity with Andocides will perceive in this oration the same form of speaking, the same force and gravity as in the other speeches. For these reasons," he continues, "we must attribute this one to Andocides, especially on the authority of Photius and Harpocration."

Valckenaer, too, thought that "the style of Oration 4 showed the same vehemence of speaking and the same liberty."

And quite recently W. S. Scarborough, in *Trans. of Am. Phil. Asso.*, 1889, says: "As to the κατ' Ἀλκιβιάδου, whether Andocides was the author or not, there is much discussion. Yet the similarity of style, the numerous periods ending in anacolutha, etc., etc., aside from the historical inaccuracies, would indicate that he was the author of the oration against Alcibiades." We should be glad if he had specified to what the etc. refers. And as to historical data, Andocides' inaccuracies occur in reference to early history, not concerning contemporaneous facts such as the mistakes found in Oration 4. On the contrary, Andocides is said to have gained his place in the canon of the Attic orators partly on account of his value as a historian of the times in which he lived.

Taylor attributed this oration to Phaeax, and was answered, but inconclusively, by Valckenaer and Ruhnken, who defended Andocidean authorship. These three dissertations occur in Becker's "*Andocides übersetzt und erläutert.*"

Blass and Jebb consider the oration spurious, and set it down as

the work of a sophist of a later date, agreeing in this with Meier and Grote (*cf.* 4, 203; 6, 10; 7, 144) and most recent writers. Thirlwall, however, devotes five pages (3, 493–8) to a review of the evidence and thinks the work must still be considered Andocidean. Blass says that nothing demands placing it later than some time in the fourth century. We know that such speeches were written in the time of the Panegyricus of Isocrates (*cf.* § 188), and even by such men as Lysias and Polycrates.

Most of the proof hitherto given for the spuriousness of the speech is based upon the misconception of ostracism and the historical impossibility of the oration having been delivered. My effort will be to examine its authenticity by a stylistic study of the fourth oration.

The first question to be settled is whether the speech was actually delivered, as it purports to have been, or is merely the written work of a later author. If the speech was delivered, the date may be fixed by internal evidence. Valckenaer strangely enough, not taking account of the reference to Melos, used as an argument for Andocidean authorship the statement in § 8, *τετράκις ἀγωνιζόμενος ἀπέφυγον*, declaring that they have reference to the trials on account of the mutilation of the statues of Hermes, the disclosure of the mysteries and his return, which, according to this, must have all taken place before the delivery of this oration. The reference to the capture of Melos shows that the delivery must be placed after that event, which occurred in the winter of 416–415 B. C. Then Nicias left Athens in the spring of 415, never to return. So, if the occasion of this oration was historic, the scene of its delivery could only be laid in the early part of the year 415. Here the internal evidence contradicts itself. In §§ 22 and 23 there is an incongruity which Thirlwall, 3, 496, glides smoothly over by calling it a “rhetorical exaggeration,” and adopting the suggestion of Droysen (*Ueber die Hermok.*, p. 199, note), that the Melian captive was taken in the early part of the siege. Further, the speaker in § 8 says that he has been four times tried, and in § 41 that he has been an ambassador to Molossia, Thesprotia, Italy and Sicily. But Andocides, in Oration 2, 7, speaking of this year 415, in which Oration 4 must have been given, if delivered at all, pleads that he was young and foolish at the time.

Grote, 6, 11, says that the story of Alcibiades' duplication of the tribute, §§ 11 and 12, is virtually contrary to the statement of Plutarch, probably borrowed from Aeschines, who says that the demagogues *gradually* increased the tribute to 1300 talents (Plutarch, *Aristeid.*, c. 24).

Furthermore, there are some particular mistakes which an intelligent man could hardly have made in speaking of the events of his own and recent times. In § 33 Kimon is said to have been banished because he married his own sister. In § 13 the commander at Delium, a battle fought only nine years before the supposed date of the speech, is called Hipponikos instead of Hippocrates.

Then the speech represents an entire misconception of the idea of ostracism such as could exist only after the institution had fallen into disuse. Under this ancient form of the secret ballot law anything like an open rivalry between two candidates and an attempt to prejudice the popular vote would be impossible. With the Attic delicacy of feeling the man making such an attempt would be sure to lose his case by this bold assumption that he was prominent enough to necessitate recourse to ostracism. Moreover, no writer mentions Andocides as in danger of ostracism in connection with Alcibiades and Nicias. Phaeax is named by Plutarch with Nicias and Alcibiades as being liable to ostracism at the same time. It was this which led Taylor to ascribe the speech to Phaeax. It is hardly necessary to reply to this, for the proof seems conclusive that it was not delivered at all. Accepting this conclusion, our next inquiry will be as to whether the composition of the work can be attributed to Andocides. Apart from the mistakes and inconsistencies already noted, the investigation may be pursued still further by observing some of the differences in the style of composition between the fourth oration and the first three.

It will be remembered that one of the prominent features of the style of Andocides is his abundant use of the various forms of repetition, intentional and unintentional. Apparently this very thing was especially repugnant to the author of the fourth oration, for one of the most noticeable characteristics of his style is his eager search after variety in expression. Take, for example, § 25, where within the space of five lines we have *ἀντερῆν* - - *λέξειν* - -

ἀπολογήσεσθαι - - διηγῆσθαι. In § 26 compare ἦλθε ζεύγος ἵππων ἄγων with ἀφίκετο ζεύγος ἵππων ἔχων, ten lines below. Compare εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον in 24 with τὸ λοιπὸν in 36. In 25 and 26 he uses the adverbial endings in Ὀλυμπίασι and Ὀλυμπιάζε, while in 30 he uses the preposition, εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν. In 27 note ἀνταγωνίζεσθαι and ἀμιλλᾶσθαι. For other examples cf. §§ 1. 2. 3. 4. 7. 9. 12. 13. 18. 19. 21. 23. 31. 32. 35. 36.

We may note right here a considerable divergence in vocabulary. Apart from proper names and peculiar phrases, there are over 180 words in the fourth oration not found in any of the other three, which seems rather large, even making allowance for a difference of subject-matter. The employment of some of the words in this list seems to be due to the author's desire for variety. We may note also in the list some late words.

Most of the figures of repetition employed by Andocides are either entirely absent or used only sparingly, except, as in the case of arsis, where they may be of service to mark an antithesis. We do find, however, examples of the use of alliteration, paronomasia, the linking of synonyms, and rarely epanaphora.

Then, too, the figures which Andocides uses to enliven his narrative are almost entirely wanting.

When, however, we come to the Gorgianic figures, in the use of which Andocides is rather sparing, we find them quite abundant. In fact, perhaps the most prominent feature of style which impresses itself upon us is the decided antithetical structure that prevails throughout the oration. This is seen especially in the solemn and formal proemium, which, as Blass remarks, is quite Antiphontean in style. Yet the narrative, too, which savors very much of compilation, is honeycombed with balanced clauses. It is interesting to note in this connection that in the construction of antitheses the author has in no case employed the τοῦτο μὲν - - τοῦτο δέ variety, of which two examples are found in the earliest of Andocides' orations and one in each of the others. This fact may be regarded as one indication that this oration was composed later than the first three, just as in the case of Antiphon, the fact that antitheses of this kind occur in the first five orations, but not in the sixth, is taken by Blass as an evidence of the later composition of the sixth oration. But we have seen that, if Andocides composed the κατ' Ἀλκιβιάδου at all, it must have been several

years earlier than any of his extant works. It will be remembered that Andocides uses paronomasia more than any of the other Gorgianic figures. The reverse is true in the fourth oration, where paronomasia is the least common of the four figures.

Another characteristic of this oration which seems to indicate the sophistic nature of its composer is the frequent insertion of generalizing statements and moral observations. We have two of these in the first section: (1) πολίτου δὲ ἀγαθοῦ - - προκινδυνεύειν - - τοῦ πλήθους, κτλ. (2) διὰ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιμελουμένους οὐδὲν αἱ πόλεις μείζους καθίστανται, κτλ. For other examples cf. §§ 4. 6. 8. 9. 12. 15. 19. 21. 24. 32.

Eriksson, in his dissertation, notes some of the grammatical constructions peculiar to this oration.

Concerning hiatus in this speech, Benseler says that, although not entirely avoided, yet the examples are fewer in comparison with the first and second orations.

Such, then, are some of the differences in style which exist between the fourth oration and the other three. Though some of the variations are of small importance, their cumulative evidence greatly strengthens the conviction reached by an examination of the subject-matter of the speech, that this work cannot be considered the composition of Andocides. Its author has not the natural eloquence of Andocides. Though not a skilful artist, he had evidently made some study of the principles of oratory laid down in the schools. Blass observes that there are no archaisms either in expression or composition, but, on the contrary, the diction is the artificial and non-prosaic language of the 4th century, and that the periodicity is almost Isocratean, although hiatus is not entirely absent. The character and career of Alcibiades were always an interesting subject for discussion. Then the connection of his name with the exercise of the institution of ostracism, at the time when it practically passed out of existence, and Andocides' prominence in one of the greatest sensations of those times, would complete the setting for the scene of the speech. As has already been observed, the composition of the work must be placed sufficiently late to account for the entire misconception of the nature of the institution of ostracism and the inaccurate knowledge of contemporary events. Perhaps its ascription to Andocides is due in

some measure to the predominance of narrative. Blass is doubtless correct in attributing it to a late sophist, possibly of the 4th century.

CHAPTER VII.

Conclusion.

We come now to the conclusion, and may summarize in a few words our results. This study of Andocides has attempted to show, in the first place, from the author's own words, the prominent traits of his character and his social standing. Next we tried to show that his style is the blending of a conversational diction with a reminiscence of tragic poetry. In doing so, we had occasion, first, to examine his vocabulary. This was found to be largely the language of dialog, taking Aristophanes as a standard. Yet at the same time, in comparison with the number of pages covered by the orations of our author, there is to be found a considerable number of words which are unusual with the orators and many of which have a distinctly poetic flavor. An examination was then made of Andocides' use of tropes and figures, in which we found that of the rhetorical figures he uses almost exclusively such as are to be found either in inartistic prose or in the writings of the dramatists. It was further observed that these figures were, for the most part, used either to enliven the narrative or to give it emphasis. Of the figures used to give emphasis, it was found that the greater part could be classified as some form of repetition. Of the four so-called Gorgianic figures, he was seen to use chiefly those that are to be found abundantly in the language long before the time of Gorgias. And further, Andocides' use of these figures appeared to be such as is native to the language, and not after the artificial manner of Gorgias. In comparing the three orations, the influence of poetry seemed to be more pronounced in the early speech, and then yielded to the more popular elements in the later efforts of the orator. A short comparison was then drawn between Andocides and Aeschines, the two amateurs in the canon of the Ten Orators. And finally, a test was made of the authenticity of the fourth oration by applying to it the canons of criticism established for the other three.

LIFE.

The author of this dissertation was born at Marietta, Ohio, September 12, 1871. His parents are Joseph Addison and Sarah Shipman Kingsbury, at present living in Pittsburg, Pa., where the former is Superintendent of the Keystone Live Stock Express Company.

The author received his early education in the public schools of Marietta, O., Allegheny, Pa., Pittsburg, Pa., and graduated from the High School of Cleveland, O., in 1889. Removing to Brooklyn, N. Y., he spent two years at the University of the City of New York. After this, returning to Pittsburg, Pa., he completed his college course with the degree of B. A. in 1893, at Marietta College, his father's Alma Mater. From the same institution he received the degree of M. A. in 1896. The two years following graduation were spent in Pittsburg in giving private lessons and in business. In the fall of 1895 he entered Johns Hopkins University as candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Greek, Latin and Sanskrit, which he received in June, 1898.

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